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AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY RIYADH PRIORITY  
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SUBJECT: AFRICA IN THE U.S. PRESS - FEBRUARY 13, 1990

BRUSSELS PLEASE PASS USEC  
CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY  
NAIROBI PLEASE PASS MOMBASA  
RIYADH ALSO FOR AMB. FREEMAN  
ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN

THE NEW YORK TIMES

IN ALMOST EVERY RESPECT, THE NELSON MANDELA WHO WALKED OUT OF VICTOR VERSTER PRISON FARM SUNDAY MORNING APPEARED TO RESEMBLE CLOSELY THE IMPRESSIVE FIGURE DESCRIBED IN RECENT YEARS BY THE DOZENS OF PEOPLE WHO VISITED HIM IN PRISON, JOHN BURNS WRITES. BECAUSE THOSE VISITORS HAD DESCRIBED MANDELA IN GLOWING TERMS - A MAN OF UNUSUAL MEMORY AND GREAT PERSONAL WARMTH, EVEN TOWARD HIS CAPTORS, REPORTERS WAITING TO SEE HIM ON SUNDAY WERE WATCHING FOR FEET OF CLAY. BUT THERE WERE FEW WHO SAID THEY FOUND THEM. ADDRESSING A PRESS CONFERENCE IN ARCHBISHOP TUTU'S CAPE TOWN GARDEN ON MONDAY, MANDELA APPEARED MODEST, SOFT-SPOKEN, ANALYTICAL YET GENEROUS IN HIS POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS AND FRIENDLY. EVEN THOUGH HIS NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES WERE HEAVILY CENSORED UNTIL THE MID-1980S, HE SHOWED A BROAD GRASP OF EVENTS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA. IN MONDAY'S PRESS CONFERENCE, HE DESCRIBED SOME OF HIS CAPTORS AS GOOD MEN. "THAT HAS WIPED OUT ANY BITTERNESS A MAN COULD HAVE," HE SAID. P. A17;

BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS IN THE NEW YORK AREA SAID IN INTERVIEWS YESTERDAY THAT THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA IMPROVED THE PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SAG AND THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT, ERIC PACE REPORTS. SOME SAID THAT MANDELA'S RETURN TO THE POLITICAL SCENE WOULD INCREASE COHESIVENESS WITHIN THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT. OTHERS INTERPRETED THE RELEASE AS ACKNOWLEDGMENT BY THE SAG OF THE STRENGTH AND PIVOTAL ROLE OF THE ANC. SELOKA PHIRWA, A MEMBER OF THE ANC'S OBSERVER MISSION TO THE UN AND OTHERS, SAID THAT WHILE RELEASE OF MANDELA WAS A "BOLD STEP," OTHER CONDITIONS SET BY THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT FOR



NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SAG "REMAINED UNFILLED." THE LABOR SECRETARY OF THE PAC, LESOANA MAKHANDA, SAID MANDELA WAS BEING RELEASED "MERELY INTO A LARGER JAIL, WHICH IS THE REST OF SOUTH AFRICA." P. A17;

WHILE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ACROSS SOUTH AFRICA CELEBRATED THE RELEASE OF MANDELA, THE QUESTION RAISED BY SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS ALIKE IS WHETHER PRESIDENT DE KLERK, IN FREEING MANDELA, HAS UNLEASHED A CHAIN OF EVENTS THAT HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CONTROL. PEOPLE ARE WONDERING WHETHER DE KLERK WILL TURN OUT TO BE THE GORBACHEV OF SOUTH AFRICA, A REFORMER WHO SETS OUT ON A MODEST COURSE OF CHANGE ONLY TO FIND THAT HE HAS UNCAGED FORCES THAT MOVE THROUGH SOCIETY IN UNPREDICTABLE WAYS, FORCES THAT EVEN THREATEN TO OVERWHELM HIM. WHILE CP LEADER ANDRIES TREURNICHT TALKED OF THE SAG HAVING SURRENDERED TO A MARXIST REVOLUTION, MODERATES AMONG WHITES AND BLACKS AGREED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICA OF YESTERDAY, IN WHICH WHITES DECREED FOR BLACKS, IS ALMOST SURELY GONE FOREVER. THE LIBERAL "WEEKLY MAIL" SAID: "IF THE GOVERNMENT STILL BELIEVES IT CAN CONTROL THE PROCESS IT HAS STARTED, IT IS KIDDING ITSELF." JOHN BURNS REPORTS. P. A16;

AN EDITORIAL, "SUNRISE IN SOUTH AFRICA," STATES THAT THE JAIL THAT OPENED SUNDAY FOR NELSON MANDELA "BEGAN TO FREE A NATION EVEN AS IT FREED A MAN." MANDELA ROSE TO A "REMARKABLE OCCASION:" HE PRAISED HIS FOLLOWERS FOR THEIR STEADFASTNESS, BUT REMINDED THEM THAT DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES HAD TO BE RESPECTED; HE PRAISED F.W. DE KLERK AS "A MAN OF INTEGRITY; HE DEFENDED THE ARMED STRUGGLE, BUT ALSO SAID HE HOPED A NEW CLIMATE WOULD END THE NEED FOR A "DEFENSIVE" RESPONSE. THE EDITORIAL GOES ON TO SAY THAT GLOBAL SANCTIONS HAVE HASTENED REFORMS, INCLUDING THE RELEASE OF MANDELA AND THE UNBANNING OF THE ANC. "THESE STEPS ARE A VINDICATION OF SANCTIONS, NOT AN ARGUMENT FOR REPEALING THEM." AT THE SAME TIME, THE EDITORIAL SAYS BUSH HAS TAKEN "THE RIGHT FIRST STEP" IN INVITING BOTH DE KLERK AND MANDELA TO WASHINGTON AND THAT "IT MAY MAKE SENSE TO EASE SOME PENALTIES AS PRETORIA MOVES FORWARD, THEREBY PROVIDING INCENTIVES FOR FURTHER CHANGE WHILE KEEPING THE LEGISLATION IN FORCE." WHILE CONCEDED THE SAG STILL HAS TO TAKE OTHER STEPS TO CREATE A CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT IT WON'T BE EASY TO MESH THE GOALS OF THE SAG AND THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT, EVEN AFTER NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEGUN, THE EDITORIAL ENDS ON AN UPBEAT NOTE: "IN CAPE TOWN AS ELSEWHERE . . . THE UNTHINKABLE HAS BECOME IMAGINABLE AND A STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS BEGUN BY NAMELESS ORDINARY PEOPLE HAS FOUND CHAMPIONS IN LEADERS LIKE MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, LECH WELESA, VACLAV HAVEL, F.W. DE KLERK AND, NOW, NELSON MANDELA." P. A24;

IN AN OP-ED PIECE, TONY LEWIS WRITES OF MANDELA'S WALK TO FREEDOM: "NOT MANY EVENTS IN THE WORLD HAVE SUCH SYMBOLIC EMOTIONAL POWER." MANDELA'S SURVIVAL OF 27 YEARS IN PRISON IS TESTIMONY "THAT HIS CAUSE - NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA - COULD NOT BE CRUSHED." THE ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE OF SOUTH AFRICANS TO A FREE MANDELA IS AN EXPRESSION OF A REALITY THE SAG HAS TRIED TO SUPPRESS FOR MANY YEARS: "THAT BLACKS, 75 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, WANT TO HAVE THEIR PART IN RUNNING THE COUNTRY." LEWIS GOES ON TO SAY THAT DE KLERK MUST HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE ENORMOUS EMOTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS WHICH WOULD BE AROUSED BY MANDELA'S RELEASE AND HE MUST BE CREDITED WITH "RARE COURAGE." WHILE THERE ARE STILL DIFFICULTIES, INCLUDING THE RESISTANCE OF RIGHT-WING WHITES TO ANY CHANGE, THE REACTION OF WHITES - FROM THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED SABC TO PIK BOTHA AND WHITES IN SUNDAY'S CROWD ON THE ROAD TO CAPE TOWN - HAS BEEN "SURPRISINGLY FRIENDLY" TO MANDELA. LEWIS CONCLUDES THAT INSTEAD OF DWELLING ON APARTHEID'S PAST EVILS, "IT IS BETTER TO THINK ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES AHEAD. WHAT A DIFFERENCE A NEW SOUTH AFRICA COULD MAKE TO ITSELF AND ITS CONTINENT." P. A25;

AP REPORTS PLATINUM FUTURES PRICES JUMPED YESTERDAY AFTER NELSON MANDELA ENDORSED ANTI-APARTHEID VIOLENCE AND NATIONALIZATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MINING INDUSTRY, SENDING FEAR ABOUT SUPPLIES THROUGH THE PRECIOUS METALS MARKETS. BERNARD SAVAICO, SENIOR METALS ANALYST AT PAINE WEBBER



INC., SAID MINE SABOTAGE POSES OBVIOUS PRODUCTION PROBLEMS, WHILE THE ANC'S CALL FOR NATIONALIZATION OF THE MINES "LEAVES OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE FLOW OF SUPPLY WILL DIMINISH BECAUSE OF THE INEFFICIENCIES OF GOVERNMENT-OWNED MINING OPERATIONS AS OPPOSED TO THOSE CONTROLLED BY FREE ENTERPRISE." SOUTH AFRICA IS THE WORLD'S LARGEST PRODUCER OF PLATINUM AND GOLD. P. D17;

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORLD'S 42 POOREST NATIONS MET IN DHAKA, BANGLADESH OVER THE WEEKEND TO DEVISE NEW WAYS TO CONVINCE RICHER COUNTRIES THAT NEARLY HALF A BILLION PEOPLE NEED HELP DESPERATELY. THIS FIRST MINISTERIAL MEETING OF LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IS EXPECTED TO RESTATE FORCEFULLY A PLEA THAT AID DONORS AND INTERNATIONAL LENDING ORGANIZATIONS TREAT THE POOREST NATIONS SEPARATELY FROM THE REST OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THE GROUP OF 42 - OF WHICH 28 ARE IN AFRICA - WILL MEET WITH DONOR NATIONS IN GENEVA AT THE END OF MARCH IN PREPARATION FOR A LARGER INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN PARIS IN SEPTEMBER ON THE PLIGHT OF THE MOST DISADVANTAGED COUNTRIES. BARBARA CROSSETTE REPORTS. P. A3;

#### THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

IN A LENGTHY ANALYSIS WRITTEN FROM THE ERITREAN FRONT, GERALDINE BROOKS WRITES THAT THE STRUGGLE IN ERITREA, AFTER 28 YEARS, MAY BE NEAR A CLIMAX. OPPOSING BLACK AFRICA'S BEST-EQUIPPED ARMY, THAT OF ETHIOPIA, EPLF GUERRILLAS SEEK INDEPENDENCE FOR AN ENGLAND-SIZE STRIP OF RED SEA COAST THAT IS HOME TO 3.5 MILLION PEOPLE. ETHIOPIA ANNEXED IT IN 1962. THE GUERRILLAS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR IT EVER SINCE. A RAPID STRING OF GUERRILLA VICTORIES FORCED THE GPDRE INTO PEACE TALKS MEDIATED BY JIMMY CARTER LAST FALL. IN THE PAST WEEK, THE EPLF ADVANCED AGAIN IN FIERCE FIGHTING AROUND THE RED SEA PORT OF MASSAWA. THEY CLAIM TO HAVE CAPTURED THE PORT, WHILE THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT ONLY SAYS THAT HEAVY FIGHTING AT THE PORT CONTINUES. AN ERITREAN VICTORY WOULD CULMINATE A STRUGGLE IN AFRICA'S LONGEST WAR, BUT IT WOULD BE A VICTORY THAT HARDLY ANY OF ERITREA'S NEIGHBORS SEEM TO DESIRE. AFRICAN NATIONS WORRY THAT ONE SECESSIONIST VICTORY WOULD PUT THE WHOLE CONTINENT'S MAP AT RISK. ISRAEL PREFERS THE PREDOMINANTLY CHRISTIAN ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT TO THE ARAB ENCIRCLEMENT IT FEARS WOULD FOLLOW A WIN BY PARTLY MOSLEM ERITREA. WAR AND PERIODIC FAMINE NOTWITHSTANDING, THE ERITREANS HAVE MANAGED TO BUILD A COMPLEX SOCIETY ON THEIR CAPTURED LAND. SPENDING TWO WEEKS WITH THE EPLF, BROOKS SAW AN UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT THAT IS LITERALLY THAT: SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, FACTORIES AND "GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS" ARE GOUGED OUT OF ROCK OR BUILT IN EARTHEN TUNNELS TO HIDE FROM THE ENEMY'S MIGS. THE EPLF'S LEADER, ISAIS AFEWERKE, CLAIMS THE MOVEMENT IS NOT "MARXIST." "THERE ARE MANY THINGS WE DO COLLECTIVELY, NOT BECAUSE WE WANT IT TO BE THAT WAY BUT BECAUSE WE DON'T HAVE ANY ALTERNATIVE," HE SAYS. P. A1;

AN EDITORIAL ASSERTS THAT WITH MANDELA'S WALK TO FREEDOM, "THE LEGEND ENDS AND THE HUMAN BEING COMES OUT." MANDELA'S FIRST SPEECH IN CAPE TOWN, THE EDITORIAL GOES ON TO SAY, FAILED TO REASSURE NON-ANC MEMBERS THAT HE WANTS RECONCILIATION WITH ALL SOUTH AFRICANS. HE FAILED TO MENTION ANY MODERATE BLACKS SUCH AS CHIEF BUTHELEZI, PROMISED TO CONTINUE THE "ARMED STRUGGLE" AND PRAISED THE SACP. HE ALSO OPENED AND CLOSED HIS SPEECH IN XHOSA, THE LANGUAGE OF THE ANC'S DOMINANT ETHNIC GROUP. THE EDITORIAL SUGGESTS THAT MANDELA WILL NEED TIME TO EVALUATE THE SITUATION IN TODAY'S SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH HAS CHANGED CONSIDERABLY IN THE YEARS HE WAS IN PRISON. NOTING ECONOMIC PROGRESS BY BLACKS - 57 PERCENT OF ALL HOUSING PERMITS LAST YEAR WENT TO BLACKS, FOR EXAMPLE - THE EDITORIAL ASSERTS THAT THIS "SILENT REVOLUTION HAS NOT ONLY BEEN EFFECTIVE IN UNDERMINING APARTHEID, BUT HAS ALSO LED MANY BLACKS TO REVIEW THEIR POLITICS. "THE ANC'S MOST RADICAL ELEMENTS MAY FIND LESS SUPPORT FOR SOCIALISM IN THE TOWNSHIPS THAN THEY EXPECT." IF MANDELA DOES NOT TAKE THIS INTO ACCOUNT, HE COULD FIND DIFFICULTY IN PURSUING THE ANC'S AGENDA. THE EDITORIAL CONCLUDES: "THE ANC HAS ALWAYS ACTED AS IF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE CONDUCTED AROUND A



SQUARE TABLE WITH TWO CHAIRS, ONE FOR THE ANC AND ONE FOR THE WHITES. THE SOONER BOTH SIDES REALIZE THAT A ROUND TABLE WITH CHAIRS REPRESENTING MANY INTERESTS WILL BE NEEDED, THE MORE SMOOTHLY A TRANSITION TO A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA IS LIKELY TO GO." P. A20;

INTERNATIONAL AID DONORS PLEDGED 27 MILLION DOLLARS TO HELP AFRICAN ENTREPRENEURS GET THEIR BUSINESSES OFF THE GROUND. THE AFRICA PROJECT DEVELOPMENT FACILITY SAID AFTER A MEETING WITH 14 WESTERN DONOR NATIONS AT THE WORLD BANK THAT IT AIMED TO FIND MORE WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. P. A16;

#### WASHINGTON POST

NELSON MANDELA TOOK A CONCILIATORY TONE TOWARD WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS IN A FIFTY MINUTE PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING HIS RELEASE. HE SAID THAT HE WANTED WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS WHO FEAR FOR THEIR SECURITY TO FEEL SAFE ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF BLACK-MAJORITY RULE, AND HE PREDICTED THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE NATION'S POLITICAL FUTURE WOULD BEGIN SOON. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE ANC MIGHT STOP ITS ARMED STRUGGLE IF PRETORIA ENDED THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND AGREED TO OTHER CONCESSIONS. BUT EVEN AS HE TRIED TO CALM WHITES' FEARS, HE DECLARED SUPPORT YESTERDAY FOR NATIONALIZATION OF KEY SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRIES, SETTING OFF CONCERN IN THE BUSINESS WORLD. GOLD PRICES FELL 4 PERCENT ON THE JOHANNESBURG STOCK EXCHANGE AND THE FINANCIAL RAND PLUMMETED 10 PERCENT. VIOLENCE, FOLLOWING MANDELA'S RELEASE, WAS UP SHARPLY. POLICE REPORTED 40 PEOPLE KILLED AND SCORES INJURED SINCE SUNDAY, INCLUDING 10 SHOT WHEN POLICE OPENED FIRE ON LOOTERS WHO BROKE AWAY FROM CELEBRATING CROWDS NEAR EAST LONDON ON SUNDAY. IN CAPE TOWN, MANDELA FIELDED QUESTIONS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORPS. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN "ABSOLUTELY SURPRISED" TO SEE SO MANY WHITES WELCOMING HIM SUNDAY ON THE SHORT DRIVE FROM THE PRISON INTO CAPE TOWN AND HE STRESSED THAT IF THE NATION'S 25 MILLION BLACK MAJORITY ASSUMES POWER, SOUTH AFRICA'S 5 MILLION WHITES NEED HAVE NO FEARS FOR THEIR FUTURE. "THE ANC IS VERY MUCH CONCERNED TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF THE CONCERN OF WHITES OVER THE (BLACK) DEMAND OF ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE," HE SAID. "THEY INSIST ON STRUCTURAL GUARANTEES TO ENSURE THAT THE REALIZATION OF THIS DEMAND DOES NOT RESULT IN THE DOMINATION OF WHITES BY BLACKS. WE UNDERSTAND THOSE FEELINGS, AND THE ANC IS CONCERNED TO ADDRESS THAT PROBLEM AND TO FIND A SOLUTION WHICH WILL SUIT BOTH THE BLACKS AND WHITES OF THIS COUNTRY." MANDELA HINTED THAT THE ANC IS CONSIDERING SOME RECIPROCAL MOVE FOLLOWING DE KLERK'S ACTIONS, BUT HE INDICATED THAT THIS COULD OCCUR ONLY IF THE GOVERNMENT ENDS THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND RELEASES ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. HE REPEATED HIS SUPPORT FOR THE ANC'S COMMITMENT TO THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE MINES AND SIMILAR SECTORS. WHEN PRESSED TO SAY WHETHER HE WAS A COMMUNIST, MANDELA REPLIED, "LET ME MAKE IT CLEAR. I DO NOT BELONG TO ANY PARTY APART FROM THE ANC." DAVID OTTAWAY REPORTS. P. 1; NYT. P. 1; CSM P. 1; W.T. P. A1;

ON MANDELA'S RELEASE, MARY MCGRORY WRITES, "IN A SEASON OF STUNNING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA WAS IN A CLASS BY ITSELF, PARTAKING OF THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL AND THE SOVIET CEDING OF MONOPOLY POWER. MOST SPECTATORS AT THE GALLOPING HISTORY WE GET THESE DAYS EXPECTED SOUTH AFRICA TO BE THE LAST TO CHANGE OR GIVE UP ITS TITLE FOR INTRACTABILITY TO ISRAEL OR NORTHERN IRELAND." MCGRORY CREDITS GIL KULICK OF THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR BEING ONE OF THE FIRST TO RECOGNIZE DE KLERK'S SINCERITY IN WANTING "A NEW AFRICA." P. 2;

IN AN EDITORIAL, THE POST EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT NELSON MANDELA'S TRIBUTE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY. THE EDITORIAL ASKS WHY COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS STILL DOMINATE THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE ANC AND WHY THEY EVIDENTLY ALSO HAVE A STRONG POSITION IN THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT. THE POST URGES THE ANC "TO ENSURE THAT THE BLACK LEADERSHIP IS NOT CAPTURED OR INFLUENCED BY A PARTY THAT IS A RELIC OF A CONSPIRATORIAL PAST." P. 20;



PRESIDENT BUSH INDICATED YESTERDAY THAT HE WILL NOT ASK CONGRESS TO CONSIDER LIFTING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IN RESPONSE TO THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA, BUT HE ADDED THAT SOME OF THE SANCTIONS ARE "COUNTERPRODUCTIVE." AT A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE DEVOTED ALMOST ENTIRELY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS, BUSH SAID MANDELA'S RELEASE WAS A "DRAMATIC SIGN" THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS MOVING TOWARD A MORE RACIALLY EQUITABLE SOCIETY. ON SANCTIONS, THE PRESIDENT CITED THE CAAA AND SAID "I AM BOUND BY THE LAW...THE SANCTIONS REMAIN ON UNTIL THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE TAKEN CERTAIN (OTHER) STEPS" TOWARD RACIAL EQUALITY. IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW, HANK COHEN SAID THAT U.S. SANCTIONS PLAYED ONLY A SMALL ROLE IN MANDELA'S RELEASE AND THAT SOME "GESTURE" SHOULD BE MADE TO DE KLERK. "WHAT WE REALLY CARE ABOUT IS ENCOURAGING FURTHER PROGRESS....IF THAT MEANS RELAXATION OF SANCTIONS, FINE." ANN DEVROY REPORTS. P. 14; BALTIMORE SUN P. A1; W.T. P. A1;

JESSE JACKSON PRAISED PRESIDENT DE KLERK, COMPARING HIS RELEASE OF MANDELA WITH LINCOLN'S FREEING THE SLAVES. "THIS WAS A COURAGEOUS STEP FOR PRESIDENT DE KLERK," HE TOLD THE CAPE TOWN PRESS CLUB. THE WINDOWS OF JACKSON'S MERCEDES WERE BROKEN AND THE ROOF CAVED IN AS CROWDS SWARMED OVER THE CAR MISTAKING HIM FOR MANDELA. JACKSON WAS WAITING INSIDE CITY HALL WITH A SMALL GROUP OF SOUTH AFRICAN CIVIC AND CHURCH LEADERS WHEN MANDELA ARRIVED TO GIVE HIS FIRST SPEECH. JACKSON, WHO'S VISIT HAS BEEN LARGELY OVERSHADOWED BY MANDELA'S RELEASE, HAS BEEN URGING BLACK OPPOSITION GROUPS TO STRIVE FOR UNITY AMONG THEMSELVES. HE SAID THAT HE WAS CONVINCED AFTER MEETING WITH DE KLERK THAT THE PRESIDENT INTENDS TO "HONOR HIS WORD" AND CONTINUE HIS REFORMS. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD A SENSE THAT DE KLERK WOULD LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY SHORTLY. DAVID OTTAWAY REPORTS. P. 14;

NELSON MANDELA AGREED TO SPEND LAST NIGHT AT AN UNDISCLOSED SITE NORTH OF JOHANNESBURG AFTER THE COMMITTEE OF BLACK LEADERS HANDLING HIS SCHEDULE DECIDED THAT THE HUGE CROWDS OF BOISTEROUS PEOPLE WAITING TO WELCOME HIM BACK TO HIS HOME POSED A THREAT TO HIS SAFETY. FOR THE SECOND STRAIGHT DAY, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE POURED INTO THE STREETS TO CHEER AND DANCE IN CELEBRATION, WHILE TWO STADIUMS, WHERE MANDELA WAS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR, WERE SWAMPED BY UNMANAGEABLE CROWDS. UNNERVED BY THE VIOLENCE THAT BROKE OUT AT MANDELA'S FIRST PUBLIC RALLY IN CAPE TOWN ON SUNDAY, THE COMMITTEE CANCELED BOTH OF MONDAY'S SCHEDULED APPEARANCES AND ANNOUNCED THAT MANDELA WOULD SPEAK TUESDAY IN THE COUNTRY'S LARGEST SOCCER STADIUM, JUST OUTSIDE SOWETO WHERE SECURITY COULD BE MORE EASILY ARRANGED. THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT PROVIDE POLICE PROTECTION IN THE TOWNSHIPS WHERE POLICE ARE HATED, AND IT IS RELUCTANT TO ALLOW ARMED ANC MEMBERS TO GUARD MANDELA. AS A RESULT, MANDELA HAS HARDLY ANY EFFECTIVE PROTECTION. MEANWHILE, THE OVERALL LEVEL OF VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY HAS RISEN SHARPLY IN THE VIBRANT ATMOSPHERE FOLLOWING MANDELA'S LEASE. ALLISTER SPARKS REPORTS. P. 14; BALTIMORE SUN P. A1; W.T. P. A1; BALTIMORE SUN P. 2A;

JACK ANDERSON AND DALE VAN ATTA REPORT THAT NELSON MANDELA OWES HIS FREEDOM IN LARGE PART TO EGYPTIAN MINISTER OF STATE, BOUTROS GHALI, WHO HAS BEEN NEGOTIATING IN SECRET FOR TWO YEARS TO FREE HIM AND ROLL BACK APARTHEID. ACCORDING TO ANDERSON AND VAN ATTA, GHALI KEPT HIS MEETINGS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICIALS QUIET AND HELD THEM IN NEUTRAL GROUND IN PARIS, CAIRO AND HARARE. FIRST HE CONCENTRATED ON GETTING THE PAC AND ANC TO WORK TOGETHER. EGYPT HAS A HISTORY OF FUNDING BOTH GROUPS. THEN HE DREW THE SAG INTO THE TALKS. P. B8;

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

KIDS FROM THE BEVERLY FARMS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN POTOMAC ARE PICTURED WAITING FOR THE ARRIVAL OF CONGO PRESIDENT DENIS SASSOU-NGUESSO AT THE WHITE HOUSE. P. B1;



AP REPORTS FROM JOHANNESBURG THAT WHEN MANDELA EXPRESSED SUPPORT YESTERDAY FOR NATIONALIZING THE MINES AND OTHER ASSETS, HE SHOCKED THE BUSINESS WORLD AND GOLD MINING STOCKS FELL 4 PERCENT ON THE JOHANNESBURG STOCK EXCHANGE. THE FINANCIAL RAND, A SPECIAL CURRENCY USED TO ENCOURAGE FOREIGN INVESTMENT, PLUMMETED 10 PERCENT ON THE BLACK LEADER'S FIRST DAY OF FREEDOM. GOLD PRICES ROSE IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE. GAVIN RELLY, CHAIRMAN OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CORP. MINING CONGLOMERATE CALLED MANDELA'S RELEASE "A MAJOR STEP TOWARD NORMALIZING SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL LIFE." COMMENTING PRIVATELY ON MANDELA'S STANCE ON NATIONALIZATION, A BANK ECONOMIST SAID IT CAUSED "JITTERS AND UNCERTAINTY" AND "WILL DEFINITELY HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON FOREIGN PERCEPTIONS OF INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, ON LOCAL BUSINESS CONFIDENCE AND ON PRIVATE FIXED INVESTMENT." BUSINESS LEADERS ARE HOPEFUL THAT DE KLERK'S REFORMS AND CONCESSIONS WILL PERSUADE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO ABANDON OR EASE THE SANCTIONS IMPOSED IN RECENT YEARS. WHEN DE KLERK LEGALIZED THE ANC, PM THATCHER CANCELED ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL EMBARGOES AND SHE NOW WANTS TO END A BAN ON NEW INVESTMENT. P. A9;

SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT DE KLERK HAS TAKEN A BOLD AND COURAGEOUS STEP IN RELEASING NELSON MANDELA. CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS, BUREAU CHIEF OF THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER AND NATIONALLY SYNDICATED COLUMNIST, QUESTIONS WHAT WE AMERICANS CAN DO. "LIKE THE REST OF THE WORLD, WE'VE BEEN CAUGHT FLAT-FOOTED BY MR. DE KLERK'S BOLDNESS. AS SO OFTEN IN OUR DEALINGS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, WE FIND OURSELVES TONGUE-TIED." HIS QUESTIONS ARE DO WE APPLAUD HIM FOR WHAT HE'S DONE OR DO WE CONDEMN HIM FOR WHAT HE HASN'T DONE? DO WE CHEER OR SIT ON OUR HANDS? MATTHEWS SAYS WE HAVE ALIENATED WHITES WITH OUR LIMITED SANCTIONS AND UNLIMITED MORAL POSTURING. WE'VE TURNED OFF BLACKS BY "KEEPING OUR IDEALS IN THE BACK OF THE BUS WHILE SITTING OUR INTERESTS UP FRONT." MATTHEWS REFLECTS BACK TO 1965 WHEN ROBERT F. KENNEDY ADDRESSED STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN AND FOUND COMMON GROUND. HE IDENTIFIED NOT ONLY WITH THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE BLACK MAJORITY BUT WITH THE HISTORY AND FEARS OF THE AFRIKANERS WHO SETTLED THERE 300 YEARS AGO. MATTHEWS CALLS FOR THE CAREFUL USE OF THE CARROTS AND THE STICKS. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS HAVE BEEN A USEFUL STICK AND THEIR ELIMINATION CAN BE A USEFUL CARROT. WE SHOULD OFFER THE CARROT GLADLY -- NOT DANGLE IT. HE CALLS FOR THE U.S. TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NOT PRESCRIBE IT. THE U.S. NEEDS TO SHOW BOTH COMPASSION AND SMART POLITICS. "FREEDOM IS TOO IMPORTANT TO PLAY HARD TO GET." P. F1;

AN EDITORIAL CARTOON SHOWS MANDELA'S FIST WITH THE CHAIN AROUND HIS WRIST BROKEN. P. F2;

WHEN MANDELA WALKED OUT OF VICTOR VERSTER PRISON SUNDAY HE GRADUATED FROM ICON TO LEADER. THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WILL SHOW WHETHER HE IS "MADE OF THE SAME STUFF AS OTHER CHARISMATIC, WORLD-HISTORICAL FIGURES WHO DEFIED EXTRAORDINARY ODDS AND OBSTACLES TO LEAD THEIR PEOPLE UPWARD." THERE ARE A NUMBER OF DISADVANTAGES FACING MANDELA. UNTIL 5-6 YEARS AGO, MANDELA WAS AN OBSCURE OPERATIVE OF AN UNDERGROUND RESISTANCE MOVEMENT. HIS CAPACITIES FOR REAL LEADERSHIP REMAIN COMPLETELY UNTESTED. AMONG THE FACTORS WORKING AGAINST MANDELA ARE HIS AGE, THE FACTIONALISM WITHIN THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT ITSELF, AND MANDELA'S ABSENCE FROM THE SOCIETY FOR 27 YEARS. QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED ARE: HOW WEDDED IS MANDELA TO THE MARXIST IDEOLOGY, WHAT DID HE MEAN WHEN HE CALLED FOR "A FUNDAMENTAL RESTRUCTURING OF OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS TO ENSURE THAT THE INEQUALITIES OF APARTHEID ARE ADDRESSED?" THE EDITORIAL URGES MANDELA TO TAKE A LONG VACATION INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA AND SEE WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING IN HIS OWN COUNTRY AND WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE 1964. "IF MANDELA CLINGS TO THE LEFTIST ORTHODOXY HE HELD 27 YEARS AGO, SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS MAY BE FORCED TO TRADE THE OLD SHACKLES OF APARTHEID FOR NEW SHACKLES OF SOCIALIST POVERTY." P. F2;



A CARTOON SHOWS PRESIDENT F.W. DE KLERK BEING BITTEN BY A SOUTH AFRICAN CONSERVATIVE DOG WITH THE HEADLINE, "FREE F.W. DE KLERK" P. 8A;

AN EDITORIAL URGES THE U.S. TO DECIDE ON AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO ENCOURAGE CONTINUED MOVEMENT NOW THAT NELSON MANDELA HAS BEEN RELEASED AND OTHER SIGNS OF POLITICAL PROCESS ARE VISIBLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE QUESTION CONFRONTING THE U.S. IS SHOULD THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION CONSIDER LIFTING SANCTIONS AS A SIGN OF ENCOURAGEMENT OR SHOULD THE U.S. WEIGH THE IDEA OF TOUGHER NEW SANCTIONS TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON, AS ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVISTS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ARE PROPOSING? NEITHER APPROACH WOULD BE APPROPRIATE AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME. TOUGHER NEW SANCTIONS WOULD PENALIZE THE DE KLERK GOVERNMENT UNNECESSARILY AT THE MOMENT IT HAS EMBARKED ON HISTORIC REFORM. BUT, THE 1986 LAW LISTS FIVE CONDITIONS THE SAG MUST MEET BEFORE THE U.S. CAN LIFT SANCTIONS. THESE CONDITIONS HAVE NOT YET BEEN MET. THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION SHOULD INSTEAD BE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO EXPRESS ITS APPROVAL OF THE ACTIONS THE DE KLERK ADMINISTRATION IS EMBARKING ON AND BOLSTER THE DE KLERK GOVERNMENT AGAINST A POSSIBLE RIGHT-WING WHITE BACKLASH. BUSH'S SEPARATE INVITATIONS TO DE KLERK AND MANDELA ARE POSITIVE GESTURES. P. 8A.

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